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# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Defense Program Is Debated By Nation

**Nazi Gains in Europe Stir U. S. to Action on Enormous Preparedness Plans**

### DEFENSE NEEDS ARE PROBED

**President Calls for Expansion of All Branches of Armed Forces to Meet Future Emergency**

A month ago the people of the United States were fairly complacent about their defenses. Some of them were uneasy, of course, but the majority seemed confident that we could take care of ourselves against any probable opponent.

Then came the invasion of Holland and Belgium and the fierce attack upon France. The people came face to face with the fact that Germany might win the war and win it quickly. On the very day that Holland surrendered, a wave of anxiety—almost of fear—swept over the United States. Would we have to meet the Germans alone after a while? Would we have to face those terrible engines of war which were grinding everything before them in Europe?

### Preparedness Program

In the midst of this uneasiness came President Roosevelt's address to Congress, and this address did nothing to quiet the rising emotion of fear. The President said that we were unprepared for war. He suggested the possibility that a victorious European nation might acquire certain islands which are scattered across the Atlantic, and might then establish air bases within striking distance of the United States. He called for an appropriation of more than a billion dollars for defense; more than a billion in addition to the two billion for which he asked last January. He said we should have an air fleet of 50,000 fighting planes and that we should quickly prepare our factories to produce 50,000 planes a year—at least four times as many as they are now producing. We should, he declared, put our whole industry into condition to turn out war equipment in a hurry, and we should hurriedly supply our army and navy with the best possible equipment. He took the position that we should prepare, if necessary, to protect the Western Hemisphere against attack—a task too great for our present armed forces.

The President's call for rapid and extensive armament has brought before the American people one of the most compelling problems they have ever had to face. Is such a program necessary? Is America actually in danger? Or have we merely become jittery and hysterical? Colonel Lindbergh went on the air a few days after the President's address with the argument that the country is not in danger except for the danger that we ourselves may plunge into war. No one, he thinks, is going to attack us. There is no occasion for us to be alarmed about our defenses. But what are the facts? How safe are we?

That question should be considered carefully and thoughtfully and realistically. We should undertake to banish all unreasonable fears as well as all unjustified smugness. We should look at facts as calmly and honestly as we can.

Before we undertake to answer the question of how large an air force or how large an army or navy we need, we must find out as nearly as we can who our opponents may be and how great may be

(Concluded on page 8)



KIRBY IN N. Y. POST

OUR VULNERABLE DEFENSES

## What We Can Do

BY WALTER E. MYER

With this issue we say good-bye until September to classes using this paper. THE AMERICAN OBSERVER is published throughout the summer until the middle of August, and anyone may subscribe for a copy for the summer period. But the semester and school year subscription period ends this week. We wish the year might have had a happier ending. We are, indeed, a happier people than any other in the world; a more fortunate people. We are anxious and worried, and immeasurably horrified and saddened, however, by the terrible torture which is the lot of our fellow men and women who, through no fault of their own, are suffering unspeakable agonies. The plague which has fallen upon the earth is thus pictured by William Allen White in the *Emporia Gazette*:

"Ever since the sun began setting on this day somewhere east of Suez, it has looked down upon misery, agony, and woe. Famine has been stalking through China during the night before the sun brought the dawn to Suez. War, which is wholesale murder and the emotional gastritis with which war cramps the human spirit, has spread over Europe from Cairo to Sweden. Men are dying in agony by the tens of thousands today. Women and children, who are not dying, are stricken with fear of God knows what terror. But beneath this stabbing dread throbs the slow despair that threatens humanity when it faces the loss of its liberties. All over Christendom the people feel the blight of the shadow of the tyrant coming to enslave them in the chains of his galling purposes . . .

"Two thousand years of the influence that radiated from prayer at Gethsemane is waning! There on Golgotha one man, suffering torture under the supreme injustice, dying in agony, cried, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!' For two thousand years that radiant lesson of humility and love has spread its way slowly around this earth. But this evening over the whole whirling globe the mellowing influence of two thousand years of growth of the philosophy of altruism is crumbling under the madness of a ruthless spirit. That spirit must have blown like a blight out of hell itself. The world is poisoned by the breath of death!"

No, we cannot be very happy as we reach the end of the school year. But we can be calm and resolute. We can determine to do our duty as citizens of this republic; to take our obligations seriously, to inform ourselves about the fateful problems which are before us, so that we may come to wise decisions in every hour of crisis and so that we may help to guide our country into the ways of wisdom and justice. We can live in the light of conscience, we can be fair to every man and loyal to our country. Then, holding to our faith in God, we may hope for a better and a happier day.

## Military Situation In Europe Examined

**German Northward Drive Thought to Presage Frontal Assault on British Isles**

### ITALIAN ENTRY EXPECTED

**Mussolini Is Apparently Convinced That Moment Is Now at Hand for Italians to Strike**

As these lines are written, on May 21, the outcome of the great battle in north-eastern France hangs in balance, and with it the fate of western Europe. From the southern tip of Luxembourg north to the English Channel, the week has been one of German advances and Allied withdrawals. In the north the main fortresses of Belgium have fallen and British and Belgian troops defending the region are in retreat. The German army has driven a wedge through French lines to a point about 70 miles from Paris, and is still battering its way forward. All over the world people are asking the same questions: How did it all happen? Why did the French lines give way? Can Hitler be stopped? Will Italy join Germany? At the moment the whole European picture is shifting so rapidly that it can be stated in unanswered questions such as these, and in questions only. All the answers lie in the future, and by the time this reaches our readers it is very likely that some of them will already have been answered.

### Nature of Invasion

First, let us look at the nature of the German invasion. In driving into France, the Germans struck their hardest blow at the point where the Belgian, Dutch, and Luxembourg frontiers meet, just beyond the northern end of the main Maginot Line fortifications. It so happened that the route taken by the Germans, after their first break-through, was the shortest route to Paris, and for a few days it seemed as though the French capital was the main objective of this drive.

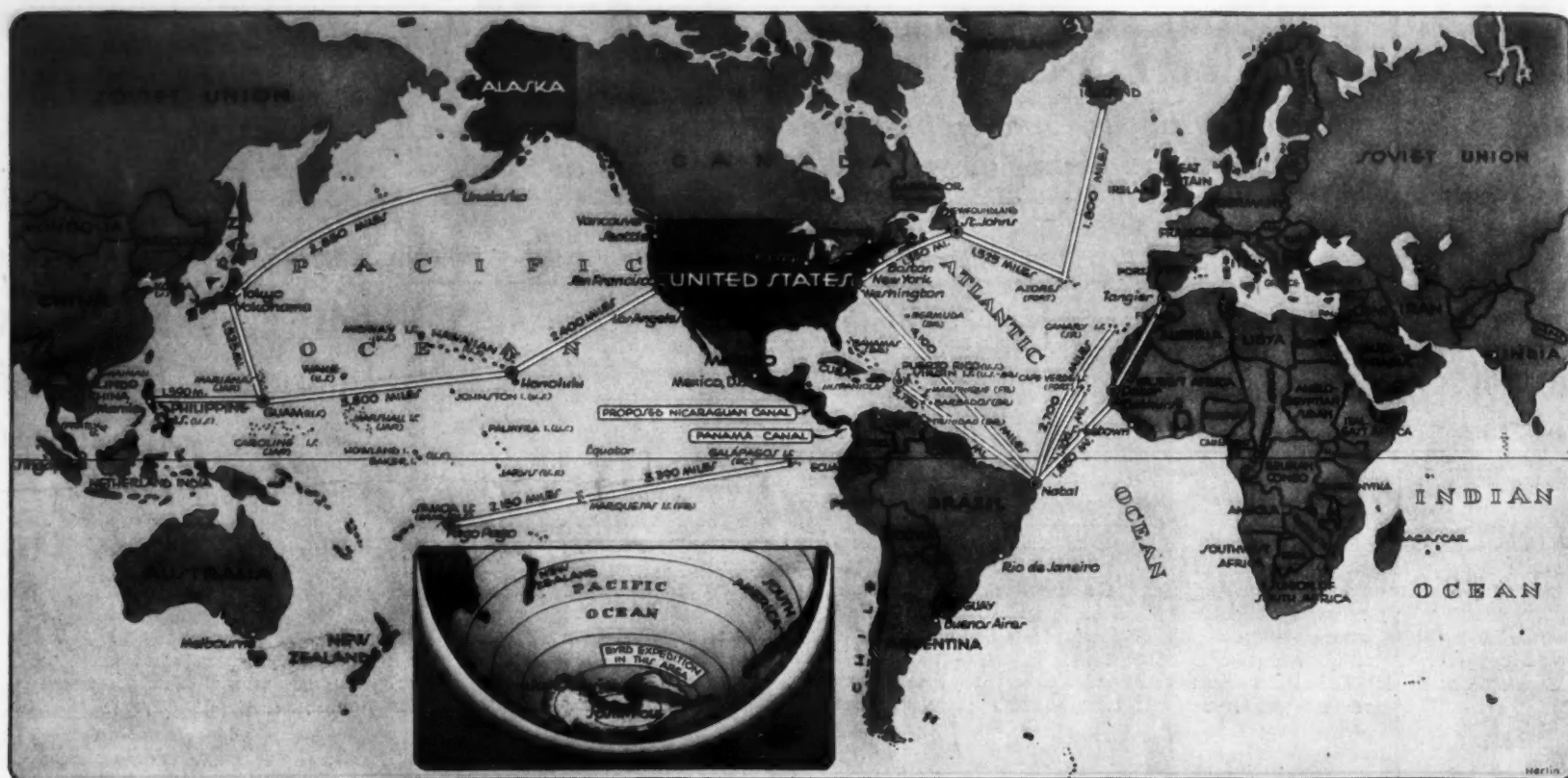
Now, however, the drive toward Paris has been stopped. Instead of continuing along this route, several strong German columns have turned to the north and west, and are pushing toward the ports along the English Channel. This places the British and Belgian forces holding the lines just south of the Channel in a serious position, for they must either withdraw, or run the risk of being trapped and forced into the sea.

Supposing, for the moment, that Hitler succeeds in swinging the powerful mechanized flank of his army north to the English Channel, what then? This accomplished, he would have gained a number of advantages. By occupying a triangle of north-eastern France, he would cut Belgium off from France. By controlling the French ports of Dunkirk, Calais, and perhaps Le Havre, in addition to all Belgian and Dutch ports, he would be able to disrupt, if not to render virtually impossible, communications between England and France. But most important of all, perhaps, the German army would have come within sight of the chalk cliff of the English coast. From Calais across the English Channel to Dover the distance is only 21 miles.

Many observers now believe that Hitler contemplates a direct assault on Britain. Nazi spokesmen have occasionally warned that England is "next." British Prime Minister Winston Churchill recently warned

(Concluded on page 3)





THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSITION IN THE WORLD  
(From a map by Herlin for "Isolated America," by Raymond Leslie Buell.)

## U. S. Foreign Policy - The Great Debate

### The Isolationist Side

**D**R. BEARD would, perhaps, take exception to having his views neatly pigeonholed under the term "isolationist." But the conclusions he reaches in his study correspond generally to the views of those who are popularly classified as "isolationists"; so that while the term may be rejected by Dr. Beard as being too loose, it is, on the whole, a convenient and not unfair description of his attitude.

In the course of its history, Dr. Beard declares, the United States has at different times followed three different policies with regard to foreign affairs. The first was the policy of continental Americanism, as he phrases it. The second was the period of unashamed imperialism, which began with the Spanish-American War and saw the extension of our flag through the Caribbean and in the far Pacific. The third period was distinguished by the internationalism phase, when we went to war in Europe and thereafter busied ourselves trying to establish a moral world order.

Of these policies, the only one that showed realism and appreciation of our proper sphere of interest was "continental Americanism." Our imperialist outburst, he says unminutely, was a tragic blunder that involved us in diplomatic entanglements, indefensible expenditures for a naval fleet, propaganda intrigues, and political commitments in the Philippines. Would the United States, he asks, have been poorer as a nation, less distinguished, in a deeper crisis if it had not plunged into Old World imperialism and been content to adhere to the continental policy?

Dr. Beard comes to grips with the interventionists in his discussion of the policy of "internationalism." Internationalism, he says, is marked by specific features. It proposes to connect the United States with the European state system by permanent ties. It operates under the belief that merely by participating in Europe's wars and endless conferences, the United States can establish a world order, with free trade among nations, with force outlawed, and with disputes peaceably submitted to a high international tribunal. That was the belief of those who were most enthusiastic about the League of Nations. But how do things stand now? "On the one side stand a few actions by the League of Nations settling minor disputes in Europe and South America. On the other appear one major dispute after another..." The policy of internationalism

### Two Points of View

Almost overnight, as it were, the American people have been compelled by the rush of European events to give searching attention to the course which the United States should pursue in the uncertain weeks and months ahead. On the question of adequate national defense, there is no disagreement whatever. Republicans and Democrats alike are behind the President's program for speeding up the production of planes and munitions. But the production of munitions, no matter how abundant, does not of itself constitute a foreign policy. Munitions are only a method for assuring that we shall be able to carry out certain objectives. What are those objectives to be? Shall we adopt a policy of isolation, content to barricade ourselves in the Western Hemisphere? Or should we, as a great power, move to intervene in the affairs of Europe and Asia and thus bring our strength to bear upon the outcome of the events now unfolding on the battlefield?

These questions are discussed in two books just published and they present conflicting viewpoints. One is by Charles A. Beard, the distinguished historian, and is called "A Foreign Policy for America" (New York: Knopf, \$1.50). The other, called "Isolated America" (Knopf, \$3), is by Raymond Leslie Buell, a former president of the Foreign Policy Association. Because these two books represent what may be called the isolationist and interventionist schools of thought, we summarize them briefly on this page.

did nothing to prevent Japanese aggression in Manchuria, the conquest of Italy, and the entire series of German aggressions.

American policy should revolve, Dr. Beard asserts, around the concept of continental Americanism: a "concentration of interest on the continental domain and on building here a civilization in many respects peculiar to American life and the potentials of the American heritage." That policy has the sanction of history and the most intelligent tradition. It was advocated by Washington. It was confirmed by Monroe in his famous doctrine. It is the policy which corresponds to our geographical, economic, and political interests.

Dr. Beard argues against the thesis that the development of our economic life compels our involvement in the shifting struggles for empire abroad. This does not mean that foreign trade, as such, is undesirable or that it is not to be encouraged. But it does mean recognition of the fact that "the potentials of buying power indispensable to keeping American industry and agriculture running at a high tempo" are to be found right here, within our own frontiers, in the creation of new wealth at home. The loss of three or four billions in foreign commerce is relatively small compared to the 20 or 30 billions which we lose every year through idle plants, idle labor, idle resources at home. The frontiers for the expansion of American enterprise, Dr. Beard concludes, are within this continent, not in the fabled Indies or on the Rhine, the Danube or the Vistula. All about us, right here, are the materials for a "magnificent civilization."

### The Interventionist Side

The United States, Mr. Buell maintains, cannot escape responsibility for the plight in which Europe finds itself. After the World War, we took the leadership in urging upon all powers drastic disarmament. But we did little more. We did not contribute our share to the economic revival of Europe. The defeated powers remained unhappy and unsatisfied. They paid no attention to our idealistic pleas for the reduction of arms. The democratic powers, on the other hand, joined with us in disarming themselves. In a sense, therefore, we ourselves were partly responsible in placing Britain and France in a position where they cannot now defend themselves adequately.

In view of our experience in the World War, isolationists insist that we must stay out of European affairs. But the argument that we were fooled the last time does not settle anything, Mr. Buell replies. History never repeats itself in quite the same way. The question today is not whether we were deceived in 1917. The question is not whether we did right in participating in the last conflict. The question today is whether the United States does not have a vital concern in the outcome of the present war.

Mr. Buell asserts that we have an unmistakable interest in helping the Allied powers to victory. "It is popular to say that America should solve its economic problems before trying to reform the world. But great as is the difficulty, from the

domestic standpoint, of restoring the private-enterprise system, the difficulty will certainly increase if the present world situation long continues." Altogether apart from the fact that an Allied defeat will jeopardize the American supply of essential raw materials, such as rubber, tin, and manganese, it would force us to maintain a military establishment of such tremendous force that the American standard of living would fall devastatingly and we would soon ourselves be adopting totalitarian controls of our economy.

Mr. Buell goes further. An Allied defeat, he says, would make it impossible to maintain our position even in the Western Hemisphere. It is unrealistic and self-deceptive, he insists, to suppose that the totalitarian powers will not be tempted by every means to extend their influence through Latin America. And since Europe is the natural market for a large part of Latin American produce, it is quite likely that Latin American nations may themselves unwittingly become partners in the totalitarian penetration. This is a process difficult to combat, for it can be carried on without the force of arms.

Mr. Buell concedes that American "intervention" in current affairs abroad will commit the United States to responsibilities of a permanent nature. But what else can be done? This is an era of desperate alternatives and our people must choose one course or another, always keeping in mind that isolation, however convenient at the moment, may turn out in the end to have been a tragic error. The United States, Mr. Buell declares, is in the pre-Munich stage, so blind to its own interests that it is in danger of yielding its bastions to the potential enemy. "The course of the United States during the next few years should be twofold: First, it should plot out the kind of world settlement which will safeguard the interests it cherishes and decide what contribution it will make to such a settlement. Second, it should carefully watch and even attempt to shape international developments so that when the right opportunity arises, effective mediation on its part will have a chance of bringing about such a settlement."

The author gives the following concrete program of action: Aid the Allies with limited intervention. Send no troops abroad, but supply Britain and France with arms. At the same time, make as a condition of that aid the acceptance by the Allies of a pledge and obligation to reorganize, along sane, rational lines, the Europe that will emerge from the war.



## Nazi Victories in Europe Place Allies in Precarious Position

(Concluded from page 1)

the British people to prepare for such an eventuality, and the erection of barbed-wire entanglements, street barricades, and pill-boxes along the British coast indicates that in Britain, anyway, such an assault is considered possible. Rumors that Germany has offered France a separate peace, in order to free all German forces for the attack on England, have supported this belief.

### Attack on England?

If Hitler could land a large body of troops on the south or eastern coast of Britain, he might not find the going hard. It would not be necessary to overrun all of Britain, for British industrial centers are grouped for the most part between London and Liverpool, in central England. Between these areas and the seacoasts lies a gently undulating land, not easily defensible, and for the most part unfortified. Britain maintains an army of 2,500,000 men, but at least 350,000 of its troops are in France, as well as much of its best equipment.

Germany's difficulties in carrying out such an attack would not, however, lie so much in the actual fighting on British soil as in ferrying troops and supplies across the English Channel and North Sea. Germany's superiority in the air would make furious bombing attacks possible, and would permit clouds of German parachute troops to descend from the air, but unless such tactics were followed immediately by a huge landing force, well supplied with food, munitions, heavy guns, and tanks, they would be of little avail. And such large contingents can be successfully transported only by sea. Britain is still in command of the seas, and maintains an air force of sufficient size to deal terrible blows against Nazi troop and supply ships

France, as in 1914, has been once again taken by surprise. The surprise has come not so much in the strategy of the German drive, as in its swiftness and intensity. Actually what overwhelmed the French defenders at Sedan was the German method in carrying out the attack. The Germans did not precede their attack by the traditional artillery bombardment, which would have given the French sufficient warning to permit the arrival of reinforcements at the critical sector. Instead, German bombers have aimed and dropped tons of high explosives, accurately and methodically, along a wide front, and then when a line broke under slight pressure at Sedan, swarms of tanks dashed into the breach. French anti-tank guns went into action, but the tanks were too numerous, and some of them, weighing 30, 40, and 70 tons, could not be pierced by such guns. Once through the breach, the tanks did not stop. Leaving "mopping-up" operations to the infantry, which poured out of armored trucks just behind the tank divisions, the tanks raced on through the line and spread out fanwise along the French roads. Some circled back and struck the line at another place in the rear, while others sped on, spreading death, destruction, and terror, until destroyed. This happened again and again at various points in the French line.

### The Full Weight?

At the time of writing, the German advance on Paris and the sweep to the north has been slowed. Has Germany struck with all the force at her command? There are several indications that this may have been the case. The French claim to have identified 11 different German mechanized divisions—consisting mainly of large and small tanks and armored cars—in the recent fighting, while the British assert that more than half Germany's mechanized forces are now in operation. If this is true, it would indicate that Hitler has staked everything on this one blow in northern France. If the French reports are true, the Germans have thrown virtually everything they have into it, for Germany has only 12 mechanized divisions. But if only half of the German tank corps have been used, it means that Germany can strike with such force only once again, and that if the present advance is brought to a standstill, it is quite possible that the blitzkrieg will have failed. Even if German troops should reach the Channel ports, and prepare to invade England, they would have the French army in their rear, and would have to fight off French attacks. General Maurice Gamelin, the cautious former commander-in-chief of Allied armies, has been replaced by General Maxime Weygand, an earnest believer in the theory of attack, and it is not thought likely that France will be willing to remain on the defensive any longer, if she gets a chance to initiate an attack upon the enemy.

Even if the main force of the German blow has spent itself, as the Allies hope, and even if the destructive power of the German mechanized divisions (which are really responsible for the break-through) has been checked, the situation of Britain and France is still admittedly serious. Another lightning thrust may fail, but Germany still maintains a huge, disciplined army capable of holding gains already made, and possibly extending them.

### Role of Italy

Then there is the question of Italy. At the time of writing, Italy still remains neutral, but it seems only a question of weeks, or perhaps days, before Mussolini will sound the call to arms and plunge Italy into the conflict against the Allies. During the past week the buildings of Rome have been plastered with anti-British posters, the British ambassador has been mauled by a Fascist crowd, Italian newspapers have risen to



IN THE FACE OF A GRAVE SITUATION  
The anxious countenances of these British men, as they listen to speeches during a recruiting campaign, reflects the gravity with which the Allies look upon the German drive.

record heights of fury against the British blockade. And Il Duce's own newspaper has informed the Italian people that "they must now or never achieve their Mediterranean destiny."

What is this destiny? First of all Mussolini would like to break the British-French grip in the inland sea (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER for May 13). He would like to oust France from the island of Corsica, and from Tunisia, in northern Africa. He would like to oust Britain from Gibraltar, the island of Malta (which lies between Italy and North Africa), and the island of Cyprus, in the eastern Mediterranean. Mussolini would like to gain control of the Suez Canal, or at least to prevent the Allies from controlling it, and perhaps to seize the French port of Djibouti, in French Somaliland, which would furnish a railway outlet from Ethiopia, and other parts of Italian East Africa.

Mussolini, it would seem, is driven forward along this course, not only by ambition, but by fear. He knows that Italy is vulnerable, both in an economic and in a military sense, and that the Allied blockade would pinch her far more severely than Germany. He knows his only hope is in a short, furious war, along blitzkrieg lines. What he has been waiting for, apparently, is the most favorable moment to strike. He does not wish to venture upon a war, unless he is sure the Allies are on the verge of losing, but he is afraid that if Germany should suddenly crush the British-French armies without Italian help, the Germans would simply deal very brusquely with their partner who hesitated for so long, and would allow her no part in the division of the spoils. This, at least, is the manner in which some observers have interpreted the Italian position.

To what extent Italian intervention could tip the scales in favor of Germany is a matter of dispute. The Fascist forces have not yet been engaged with a foe that was at all comparable with it in equipment, training, and men. They still have to pass the test of first-class warfare. Ethiopia was no testing ground. The warriors of Haile Selassie were equipped with little more than rusty rifles. The Italian conquest there was really little more than a road-building project, as modern wars go. Nor did Albania offer a testing ground. The Albanian army was pitifully small and ill equipped and its leadership, at least a part of it, had been undermined through bribes in advance of the Italian assault. The one battleground where Italian troops have had an opportunity to appear in action was Spain. There the results were far from proving the irresistibility of the Italian military machine. Mussolini had given substantial aid to Franco and at times his troops massed against the loyalist forces numbered over 120,000. Yet it was almost three years before the loyalists, badly munitioned and deserted by the larger part of their

armed command, were forced to capitulate. And in isolated battles, where the loyalists were more nearly matched against the Italians in equipment, Mussolini's men suffered some telling reverses.

### A Serious Menace

Fully conscious as the Allied strategists are of these facts, they can nevertheless not dismiss the Italian force with a contemptuous shrug. Mussolini, like Hitler, has been spending huge sums of money on his military machine. And no matter how ill commanded or how disinclined the siesta-loving Italians may be for imperial ventures, that machine, unless checkmated by a sizable force, can wreak havoc in southern France. For Hitler's purposes, it is not even necessary that his Italian ally show a capacity for thrust matching his own. It is enough that Mussolini, by his intervention, will force the withdrawal from the northern French battlefields of troops in such force as to weaken the Allied resistance against the armed Nazi columns. Moreover, the Italian fleet, newly reinforced by two battleships of the most modern design, stands at battle-station in the Mediterranean and it is a factor of perhaps greater menace to the Allies than the Italian army. The Italian fleet, by engaging the Allied naval forces, could make it easier for Hitler to carry out his projected invasion of the British Isles.

For the Allies, the situation is serious. They take what hope there is in recalling that several times before in their history they have been forced into straits no less desperate but that somehow they have emerged victorious.

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** *Avanti* (a-vahn'tee), *Chiang Kai-shek* (jee'ong' ki' shek'-i as in ice), *Chungking* (choong'king'), *Palazzo Venezia* (pah-lah'tsee veh-nay'tsee-ah), *Thailand* (ti'land-i as in ice), *Tsingtao* (tsing'tow'-ow as in how), *Wang Ching-wei* (wahng' ching' way'), *Calais* (ka'lay'), *Le Havre* (luh' ah'vr), *Maurice Gamelin* (moe'-rees' ga'muh-lan'), *Maxime Weygand* (mak'-seem' vay'gahn'), *Djibuti* (jee-boo'tee).



SOLDIERS OF STEEL

French tanks operating over a rough terrain. The war, so far, has been characterized by violent tank warfare.

—no matter how heavily convoyed. Hitler has surprised his enemies before, however, and he has not yet guessed wrong on military movements, so the possibility that he may have some new trick up his sleeve cannot be overlooked.

In the meantime, a great deal depends upon the progress of warfare in France. An attack on England would be possible only if the attack in northeastern France succeeds. Today it seems to be well on the road to success, but the situation there may not yet be so serious for the Allies as it has seemed.

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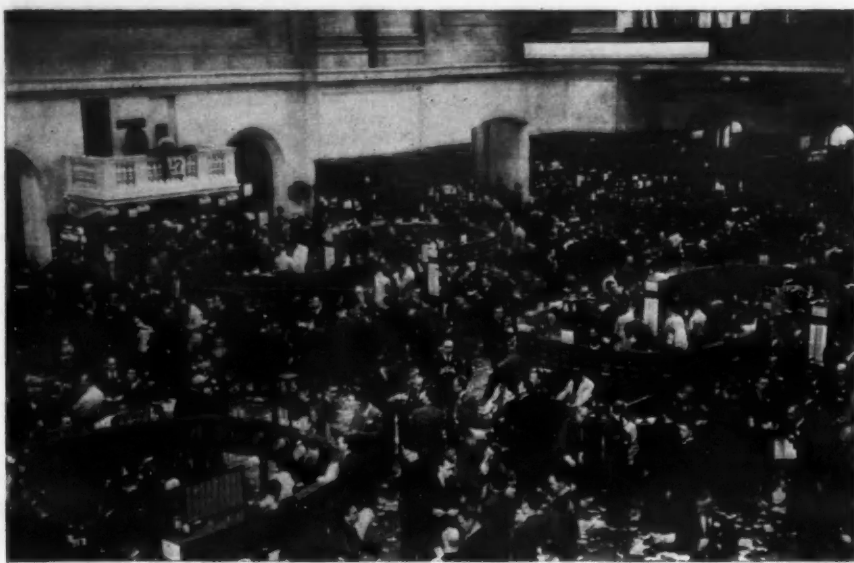
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1914 AND 1940—HOW THE BATTLE LINES COMPARE





**THE WAR HITS THE STOCK EXCHANGE**  
The impact of European events had a severe effect on the New York Stock Exchange, causing stock prices to drop to lower levels.

## DOMESTIC

### Gloomy Wall Street

During the first full week of intense fighting between the Allied and the German armies, the stock exchanges of the United States were anxious, gloomy places. Thousands of people who owned stocks and bonds were getting rid of their holdings; comparatively few persons were eager to buy. With so many wanting to sell and so few wanting to buy, prices of the stocks tumbled. Certain stocks dropped as much as \$18 a share; the average decline was \$7 a share.

It was one of the worst crashes on the stock market since the depression. The prices of wheat also suffered, dropping 30 cents a bushel during the week. Other products—corn, rye, and cotton—were selling for much less by the end of the week.

Various reasons were advanced to explain why so many people believed that it was unprofitable to hold their stocks. News reports revealed daily that the German army was successfully pushing its way into parts



**ADVICE FROM THE DOCTOR**  
THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS

of France. This led to a fear among investors that Germany might win the war in short order. From this fear stemmed another misgiving—that the heavy expenditures of the Allies in the United States would be stopped. It was pointed out, too, that a victorious Germany might lead a powerful economic coalition of dictatorships which would strangle, or at least put serious pressures on the commerce of the United States.

Although the news that President Roosevelt is pushing heavy expenditures for the defense of this country rallied the market some, it also provided a pessimistic note. For some persons seemed to foresee heavy taxes ahead to pay for the defense program—taxes which, they claimed, would consume much of the profits from the business of supplying tanks, planes, ships, guns, and shells for our army and navy.

On the brighter side, it is generally believed that the expenditures for defense will be a

strong stimulant to business. Some observers predict that the recovery which has been sought since the first of the year will not be long delayed.

### Political Front

All doubt that President Roosevelt can easily win the Democratic nomination for a third term has vanished. Both Republican and Democratic leaders concede that the delegates to the party convention at Chicago in July will name him—if he wants the nomination. For by the middle of May, there were 503 delegates already pledged to him, just 45 short of a majority (548) of the convention's 1,094 votes.

Political observers are generally agreed that this early start may well become an avalanche at the convention, particularly when they note that no other Democratic candidate had more than 38 votes pledged to him at this time. It is possible, of course, that the President will attempt to swing this following to the support of some other candidate—perhaps Secretary of State Hull or Attorney General Jackson. On the other hand, he may accept the nomination for himself.

Among the Republicans, no candidate is within easy reach of the party nomination. Despite his tremendous lead in the Gallup polls of Republican sentiment, Thomas E. Dewey has only 96 delegates pledged to him at this writing. Senator Taft of Ohio has 54; Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, 38; Hanford Macnider of Iowa, 22; and Senator Capper of Kansas, 18. At the same time that this tally was taken in the middle of May, there were also 530 Republican delegates who had been chosen, but not instructed or pledged to vote for any particular candidate.

The Republican nominee will be named by a majority (501) of the 1,000 convention delegates. They may swing to Dewey; they may support Vandenberg or Taft; or they may find themselves deadlocked between two of these men, and turn to a dark horse like Wendell Willkie. It is not believed that they will do as Dorothy Thompson suggested in her newspaper column, and announce "that if the President will accept a third term it (the Republican party) will offer no candidate in opposition to him, but will offer, instead, only a vice-presidential candidate." Under such a coalition government, the cabinet would be composed of both Republicans and Democrats.

However, there has been a rumor that Colonel Frank Knox, the Chicago publisher and Republican vice-presidential nominee in 1936, might be asked to step in as secretary of the navy when Charles Edison resigns to run for the governorship of New Jersey. Whether accurate or not, the report at least reveals the existence of a belief that national defense is a nonpartisan area in government.

### In Congress

Most senators and representatives are of the opinion that Congress will adjourn as soon as it has acted on the President's new national defense program (see page 1). Although the exact date of the session's end is unpredictable, it will almost certainly be

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World Are

sometime before the Republican National Convention meets at Philadelphia on June 24. Only a serious crisis—a national emergency or a succession of critical events in Europe—can intervene to hold Congress in the capital. And the President promised in his special national defense message that if such an occasion arises, he will quickly call Congress back for a special session.

Aside from its consideration of national defense problems, Congress has spent the major share of its time this session in appropriating money for the regular expenses of running the government. President Roosevelt did not ask the legislators to pass any new laws. There were attempts to amend certain New Deal measures, such as the wages-and-hours law and the National Labor Relations Act, but these moves did not succeed. Several measures—the Hatch bill to regulate political activities of certain state employees, and a measure to provide new pensions for dependents of deceased World War veterans—are part way through the congressional mill, and may or may not be passed before adjournment.

The House voted against the President's reorganization plan which shifted the Civil Aeronautics Authority to the Department of Commerce, but the Senate approved. So the plan goes into effect, because both houses must object if it is to be killed. None of the President's four reorganization plans has thus far suffered a reversal by Congress.

A number of senators and representatives, of course, have been occupied with the activities of various special committees, including the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, the Dies Committee, and the Temporary National Economic Committee.

### Youth's Story

"Youth Tells Its Story," a new series of radio programs, will be broadcast every Monday evening at 7:15 (eastern daylight saving time) by the stations of the National Broadcasting Company's Blue network. The first of the six weekly broadcasts in the series will be put on the air June 3.

Recreation, vocational problems, education, and community activities are among the subjects to be covered in the series. NBC will devote the first part of each program to an anonymous community, dramatizing the bad situations which exist there. Then the program will be switched to actual cities which have met various youth problems with successful results. From those cities, listeners will hear what was done to remove some of the obstacles which youth face.

### Belgian Relief

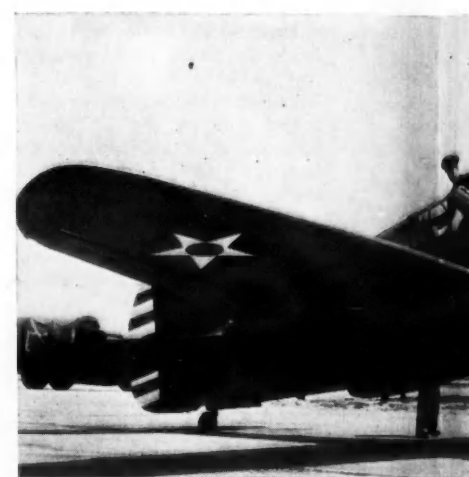
Outside of engineering and business circles, few people had heard of Herbert Hoover before the World War. He was in Europe at the outbreak of the fighting, and did much to help the American ambassador in London take care of the swarms of United States citizens who found themselves stranded as a result of the conflict.

Later he undertook the more difficult task of organizing and administering the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The German army had swept across the little nation, leaving about 10 million people faced with starvation, and thousands homeless. Established by the United States, the commission successfully carried out the tremendous task of supplying the Belgians with food, clothing, and fuel worth 25 million dollars a month. For his outstanding work as the head of the commission, Hoover achieved a reputation as an executive, which later helped him on the road to the White House.

Nearly 25 years after he came to the aid of the Belgians, the former President is once again heading a relief commission. It is almost certain that the organization's task in Belgium and the Netherlands will be great, perhaps encountering difficulties which will exceed those faced during the critical days of the World War.

### Nylon Again

When the first nylon stockings were offered for sale recently in New York City, women and girls quickly bought the limited supply. Ever since the Du Pont laboratories an-



**THE ARMY'S NEW P-40**  
The new Curtiss P-40, built for the United States Army Air Corps, can fly 300 miles an hour, and is to be superior to American types being

nounced 18 months ago that they had developed a synthetic silk by combining coal, air, and water, there has been widespread interest in the new product.

It will be some time before the Du Pont plants can supply large quantities of the nylon threads to hosiery mills. By next year, it is hoped that about 10 per cent of the hosiery supply in this country can be made from the new textile. Japanese officials are anxiously watching the sales of nylon products. Their nation has always furnished the silk to our mills, which last year made 589,103,340 pairs of silk stockings, worth \$475,368,098. If nylon should become a heavy competitor in this business, Japanese exports would drop sharply.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

Subscriptions to The American Observer for the semester period expire with this issue. The paper, however, is published throughout the calendar year. To those readers who wish to receive it during the summer months, we offer a special subscription price of 50 cents for June, July, and two weeks in August, payable in advance. Club subscriptions, in quantities of five or more, are offered to summer schools at the rate of three cents a week per copy.

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# Home and Abroad

## Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

### FOREIGN

#### Japan Waits

In spite of her own war in China, Japan, like the rest of the world, is now watching anxiously the progress of the great battle in western Europe, for its outcome may have an important effect upon the Far East. About four-fifths of Japan's foreign trade is with Britain and the United States, and for that reason many Japanese businessmen side with liberals in hoping for an Allied victory. But the predominant opinion—that of the militarists, nationalists, and most newspapers—favors a German victory for two reasons: (1) because German supremacy in Europe would force Russia to maintain most of her military strength in Europe, far from Japan, and (2) because it would probably cast adrift the Dutch East Indies, and possibly such British Far Eastern possessions as Hong Kong and Malaya. Unless the United States wanted to gamble on the outcome of a Far Eastern war, there would be no power strong enough to prevent a Japanese occupation of these regions.



NEW PURSUIT PLANE  
Army Air Corps, which is said to have a speed of better than 400 miles an hour, is being successfully used by the Allies in the European war.

A queer twist has been given to the whole picture, however, by reports that Japanese army and navy leaders have been meeting in secret with representatives of Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on the British-owned island of Hong Kong, off the coast of South China. It is reported that the Japanese army has offered Chiang a year's truce during which the Japanese sea blockade would be somewhat relaxed and official recognition withheld from Japan's puppet government (headed by Wang Ching-wei), in return for a promise to cease all attacks on Japanese lines for one year. The Japanese foreign office, it is reported, is willing to go so far as to sign a permanent peace, if Chiang will consent to Japanese annexation of the five provinces of North China and the maintenance of small garrisons in Shanghai and Tsingtao.

These reports have given rise to a great deal of speculation. Why do the Japanese seek a truce? To gain strength for an attack on the East Indies? Upon Russia? For a renewed attack upon China, after a year's respite? Or is Japan preparing to settle down to digest what she has already conquered? The outcome of the battle in Europe may produce the answer.

#### Burma Route

Across the Bay of Bengal from the east coast of India lies a land of which most people first learned through Kipling's famous (but geographically inaccurate) poem, "On the Road to Mandalay." Shaped somewhat like a lopsided tree whose trunk rests on the Malay Peninsula and whose foliage brushes India, Tibet, China, French Indo-China, and Thailand (Siam), the British crown colony of

Burma spreads out over a semi-jungle area larger than Texas, and contains about 15,000,000 native peoples, representing many diverse types, speaking 130 different languages and dialects, and widely scattered over the land.

The British first came to Burma as traders about the time the Pilgrims were landing on Plymouth Rock. They annexed the region in 1826, finished subjugating it 60 years later, and derived substantial profits from its fine woods, tin and tungsten ores, and petroleum. Until 1937 Burma was a province of India, but it was re-established as a separate colony when Britain decided to make it her second line of defense (after Singapore) in the Far East. By separating it from India, the British have been able to prevent Indian agitation for independence from seeping into this strategic, fortified area.

Since it is the terminus of the only route over which Chiang Kai-shek can import the machinery and munitions he needs to fight the Japanese, Burma is as important to the Chinese as it is to the British government. Over the Burma road, 1,000 trucks carry 6,000 tons of materials to Chiang's capital at Chungking every month from November through May. But because the trip takes two weeks each way, and because the road is all but impassable from June to October, when heavy rains produce washouts, the Burma road has not been satisfactory. To supplement it, a railway line is now being rushed from Burma northeast toward Chungking, built with Chinese labor, and financed with British capital. It will take several years to complete, and whether rail communication will be established in time to help Chiang is in question. Ironically enough, when British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury pressed repeatedly for construction of such a road, in 1892, he was opposed by two countries—France and China.

#### League in Flight?

The possibility that Germany or Italy might move into Switzerland at any moment caused officers and personnel of the League of Nations to look anxiously around in search of a place of safety, last week. Both powers were once members of the League, but Hitler and Mussolini have entertained so violent a dislike toward that organization that its destruction seemed inevitable if the army of either should reach Geneva. In the event of such an invasion, League officials now plan to move their offices to Vichy, France. Because of the danger of German bombing planes, however, it seems probable that the League would be moved to a safer place later. Its officials now favor Lisbon, the sunny capital of neutral Portugal, as a temporary headquarters for the duration of the war.

Because the League has failed so notably to carry out its chief objective—that of maintaining world peace and order—its critics sometimes forget that there are many departments of the institution which have been—and still are—performing valuable services. There



COMMANDS ALLIED LAND FORCES  
General Maxime Weygand has replaced General Maurice Gamelin as commander of the Allied forces in the war.



THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME?

With Switzerland threatened, there are reports that the League of Nations will move its offices to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal.

are League commissions working to curb opium and other narcotic trading, to prevent the spread of malaria, cancer, and tropical diseases, to codify international law, register treaties, to protect minorities, and so on.

While the United States is not and never has been a League member, this country has often cooperated with these nonpolitical divisions of that organization. The International Labor Organization is a good example. This League department, which conducts studies designed to raise labor standards throughout the world, maintains an office in Washington, and is headed by a former governor of New Hampshire, John G. Winant. There is now considerable sentiment in favor of moving some of the League's nonpolitical bureaus to the United States. Such a transfer could not take place, however, without an invitation from the United States government.

#### Latin American Reactions

##### (1) Joint Resolution

The successes of Nazi "fifth column" tactics in Belgium and the Netherlands have created a profound impression in those Latin American states where large German minorities are to be found. Brazil, with more than a million Germans, has become frankly worried, as have Uruguay, Chile, and Bolivia. Argentina, which was somewhat disturbed by the exposure of a German separatist plot in Patagonia, a little more than a year ago, has been likewise concerned. The Argentine government recently went so far as to suggest that the 21 American republics should abandon neutrality in favor of a policy of "nonbelligerency" with the purpose of giving the same kind of help to the Allies as Mussolini has been giving to Hitler. Since Argentina formerly stood as one of the chief obstacles in the way of obtaining any united American declaration against aggressive dictatorships, this move surprised many political observers, but it was not adopted—some say because it was opposed in Washington. Instead, all 21 republics have signed a resolution offered by the government of Uruguay and made public by the Panama government to the effect that

The American republics, in accord with the principles of international law and in application of the resolutions adopted in their inter-American conferences, consider unjustifiable the ruthless violation by Germany of the neutrality and sovereignty of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

While this resolution is not very strong in itself, while it offers no help to the invaded countries and while there is little likelihood that its adoption will be made known to the German people, it does signify that the Western Hemisphere has arrived at a unanimity of opinion toward European affairs that has long been conspicuously lacking.

##### (2) Economic Trends

Besides giving rise to fears of "fifth column" activities, the spread of the European war has seriously disrupted Latin American markets. The invasion of Denmark, Norway, and the Netherlands tied up the large merchant fleets of those sea-going nations, created a scarcity of shipping, and brought about a sharp rise in ocean freight rates. When the

low countries were invaded, Bolivia lost the market for one-quarter of her tin exports, while Argentina lost her third and fourth best customers. The Latin American countries, nearly all of which are producers of primary raw materials, have not realized the profits they expected from war orders. Germany has been cut off by the Allied blockade, while the Allies themselves have been very cautious, and have proved themselves sharp bargainers in placing orders. Brazil, the largest and richest state south of the Rio Grande, has actually suffered trade reverses. Since the war broke out her exports of coffee to Europe have dropped 21 per cent, of cotton 47 per cent, of hides 42 per cent, of cocoa 22 per cent, while her exports of fruit to Great Britain have dwindled to almost nothing.

All this is now leading into something new in Latin American economics—Latin American states are at last beginning to exchange their raw materials with one another, instead of sending them all to Europe or North America. Mexico is beginning to dispose of her oil in Brazil and Argentina, as is Bolivia. Argentina is selling small orders of machinery to Brazil and Peru, and attempting to market her meats and corn in Chile and Peru, and her salesmen are looking for new markets in the Caribbean. Brazil, with enormous deposits of coal and iron, is attempting also to market her produce inside the hemisphere. What this trend may



"FATE OF THE GERMAN NATION FOR THE NEXT 1,000 YEARS"—ADOLF HITLER  
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

eventually lead to no one can yet predict, but present indications are that an increase in Latin American industries and in continental self-sufficiency will be one result of the war in Europe.

### Answer Keys

#### Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. Dutch. true; 2. England; 3. Dutch East Indies; 4. Prime Minister Winston Churchill; 5. Herbert Hoover; 6. (d); 7. the American Red Cross; 8. (c); 9. Harry H. Woodring; 10. (b); 11. Dutch West Indies; 12. war; 13. the Union of South Africa. General Jan Christian Smuts; 14. true; 15. Congress; 16. Elmer Davis; 17. (d); 18. Charles A. Beard; 19. (b); 20. Crown Prince Umberto of Italy.





A PREPAREDNESS PARADE IN NEW YORK IN 1917  
(From "The First World War," edited by Laurence Stallings. Simon and Schuster.)

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### Preparedness in 1914 and Today

THE interest and concern which the American people are today showing in military preparedness and national defense offer an interesting contrast with the early period of the World War, before the United States entered the conflict. Of special interest is the attitude of the political administration in power today and that of the Wilson administration in 1914.

When the World War broke out in the summer of 1914, the United States was totally unprepared for it. Europe seemed



DAVID S. MUZZEY

far more remote than it does today. The people were not so intensely interested in foreign policy or in international relations as they have been during the postwar period. Public opinion was divided among those who supported Germany and those who wished for an Allied victory. Upon the outbreak of hostilities, President Wilson not only proclaimed the official neutrality of the United States, but he went so far as to urge the people to be neutral "in fact as well as in name" and to be "impartial in thought as well as in action." He declared that the people "must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another."

#### Nation Complacent

Despite the intensity of the storm in Europe, few believed that it would eventually engulf the United States. This country would insist upon respect for its rights as a neutral, and there was no relinquishment of these rights as there has been under the present Neutrality Act. In fact, it was largely as a result of insistence upon these rights that the United States finally became embroiled.

During the early stages of the war, the country took few steps to prepare itself. President Wilson remained aloof from the demands made here and there that the United States look to its defenses. But a campaign was being launched for an increase in national defense. Books and pamphlets were written, lectures were given, members of congressional committees were warned of the need for a strong program of preparedness. A number of private organizations were set up for the purpose of advocating building up the nation's defenses. This movement had the support of such men as General Leonard Wood and former President Theodore Roosevelt.

After attempting several times to bring

about peace in Europe, President Wilson finally came to the conclusion that the war would be fought to the bitter end and that the United States must defend itself. As early as November 1915, he advocated strengthening the armed forces of the nation and became the leader of the preparedness movement. Mass meetings were held and parades were staged throughout the country during the spring and summer of 1916. President Wilson himself led the preparedness parade in Washington on Flag Day, June 14. Public opinion in the eastern section of the country seemed overwhelmingly in favor of adding to the nation's defenses, but in the Middle West and South it was less enthusiastic.

A number of acts adding to the defenses of the nation were passed by Congress during 1916. The National Defense Act enlarged the regular army to 175,000, and strengthened the National Guard. A bill was passed in August calling for the construction of a large number of naval vessels. A large program was undertaken for the expansion of the American merchant marine. Finally, a Council of National Defense was created by Congress for the purpose of coordinating the nation's industries and resources for defense purposes. The council consisted of six cabinet members and an advisory board made up of representatives of industry and labor.

#### Unanimity Today

Whatever the American people may think about our foreign policy—and they are sharply divided as to what that policy should be in the face of the present European struggle—they are practically unanimous in their determination that the United States shall be adequately prepared to meet any emergency. The outbreak of war did not take them by surprise as it did in 1914. The swiftness and ruthlessness of the German attack have increased their determination to be adequately prepared. Few voices have been raised in opposition to the program for expansion of our armed forces which President Roosevelt has advocated. It has not taken preparedness parades or mass meetings to arouse the people.

There is much less complacency among the American people today than there was during the early stages of the World War. Then, there was a fairly general feeling that it was Europe's struggle and that the United States could remain aloof. Today, there seems to be a desire on the part of a majority of the American people to stay out of the war, but there is less certainty that such an objective can be attained. The feeling prevails that in this great crisis in history almost anything can happen, and this feeling accounts for the almost unanimous desire for adequate preparedness to meet whatever dangers may lie ahead.

## Personalities in the News

AS the national defense program swings into action, the government will need the services of industrial leaders to keep the machinery of supplying raw materials and armaments working smoothly. If the system breaks down at any point, there will be expensive delays and serious threats to the success of the entire program. One of the key industries in this vast effort is the automobile industry, with its scores of plants, its skilled workmen, and its efficient production lines and machine tools.

No man in that industry has a greater executive genius than **William S. Knudsen**. As president of the General Motors Corporation, he is almost certain to take an important part in lining up industry to cooperate effectively with the government.

Born 61 years ago in Denmark, Signius Wilhelm Poul Knudsen came to America when he was 20. By the time he had changed his name to William S. Knudsen he was rapidly learning the ways of industry in this country. He found his first job in a New York shipyard, where he earned \$1.75 a day as a reamer and riveter. To learn the English language, he spent his evenings talking to children in the neighborhood of his boarding house.

The shipyard closed down for the winter, but Knudsen was hired by the Erie Railroad to repair locomotive boilers. He quit, however, when he learned that a fellow laborer, after being on the same job 35 years, was making only \$100 a month, the same wage as Knudsen's. From there, he went to a bicycle factory, where he became the manager in five years. The plant was already making a few automobile parts when Henry Ford bought it, and Knudsen stayed on with the growing Ford industry, becoming its production manager.

Men in the automobile industry say that Ford made the biggest mistake of his life when he let Knudsen leave in 1921. The next year, Knudsen joined the General Motors Corporation, moving through the various branches of the organization until he arrived at the presidency in 1937.

A tall, husky man, he wears his hat while working at his desk—a habit left over from the days when he spent more of his time inspecting plants. It is reported that big and little employees have no difficulty in seeing him at any time. Although at ease in formal clothes, he prefers to wear rough, loose-fitting suits. Telephone callers hear him answer, "This is Knudsen," and he signs his letters "Knudsen" or simply "K." He Americanized his name because a Buffalo timekeeper had difficulty in pronouncing the Danish original—Bill was easier.

Whatever part he is called upon to play in the national defense program, the former Danish immigrant will bring to it his knack for tackling big problems and for working them out to successful solutions.

His ability to manage men is the subject of many stories. It is said that when he makes an inspection tour of factories, the workers do not look upon him as a snooping official. In the public's mind, too, he is thought of as a friendly, extremely likeable man.



WIDE WORLD  
WILLIAM KNUDSEN

THOSE who think that preponderance of militarism is a sign of strength are wrong. Strong nations do not have to descend to the sort of insane carnival in which Italians are indulging today; strong nations have a sense of proportion. Nationalist, militarist Italy shows that it lacks this sense. So it happens that a miserable war of conquest is celebrated as a Roman triumph. These are not, as one might think, the words of a bitter enemy of Fascist Italy. They were uttered a little less than 30 years ago, during the Italo-Turkish war, by **Benito Mussolini**, who now heads the Italian government.

Mussolini's opinions have changed somewhat since he penned those words for his newspaper *Avanti*, of course. His life, like his nature, has been tempestuous, and one of many changes. Born 57 years ago, the son of a village anarchist and blacksmith, Benito Mussolini sat in the paupers' row of the village school, later taught school himself, and then went to Switzerland at the age of 19 to escape military service in Italy. In exile he lived mostly from hand to mouth, working as a factory hand, as a bricklayer, studying Socialism in night school, and coming into frequent clashes with the police (he was arrested 11 times) as a result of his association with the Socialists.

During the World War Mussolini broke with the Socialists and was expelled from the party because he favored Italy's participation on the side of the Allies, finally going to the front himself as a corporal. Directly following the war, Mussolini switched his opinions completely. Organ-



BENITO MUSSOLINI

izing a small group of army comrades, he founded the Fascist party, a collection of violent nationalists who conducted a modified form of guerrilla warfare against the Socialists until 1922, when Mussolini finally seized the reins of the government of Italy, crushed or exiled his Socialist opponents, and established himself as dictator of the nation.

Mussolini's successes in maintaining his own position, while raising Italy to the strength of a first-class power during the past 18 years, are too well known to need recitation here. At least six different attempts have been made on his life, and last fall it seemed as though he might be slipping, but today he seems to be as strong as ever. He conducts his official business in an enormous office at the Palazzo Venezia, in Rome, from which he returns in the evening to his villa a few miles outside the capital. Mussolini has five children, of whom his favorite is Edda, his eldest daughter, who is the wife of his foreign minister, Count Ciano. As an individual he is far more accomplished than Hitler. Whereas the German *Fuehrer* is not known to have done anything but issue orders during the past seven years, Mussolini speaks four languages, drives his car and a motorcycle, pilots his own plane, plays the violin for relaxation, swims, fences, and engages in other sports, and occasionally permits himself to be photographed pitching hay.



## Books for Summer Reading

FOR those who plan to spend part of their time this summer in reading, here is a brief list of good books which we recommend.

### Fiction

No Arms, No Armour, by Robert Henriques. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50. A novel about British army life.

But You Are Young, by Josephine Lawrence. Little, Brown. \$2.50. About a family of limited means, and its problems.

The King's Men, by Johan Bojer. Appleton-Century. \$2.50. A historical novel set in Norway and Sweden.

The Trees, by Conrad Richter. Knopf. \$2.50. How a family of pioneers crossed Ohio in the early days.

This Land Is Ours, by Louis Zara. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.75. Another story of the exciting early days in the Ohio country.

How Green Was My Valley, by Richard Llewellyn. Macmillan. \$2.75. There is both tragedy and comedy in this novel of Wales.

The Floor of Heaven, by Sylvia Chalfield Bates. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50. The descriptions of nature give this story a beautiful setting.

Mariana, by Sally Salminen. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50. Fishermen and peasants are the characters of this Aland Island story.

The Winds of Spring, by Walter Havighurst. Macmillan. \$2.50. The experiences of a Swedish immigrant family in Wisconsin.

Wolves Against the Moon, by Julia Cooley Altrochi. Macmillan. \$3. A story about adventures in the early days of Canada and the United States.

Chad Hanna, by Walter D. Edmonds. Little, Brown. \$2.75. There is a background of circus life in this story of the Erie Canal country in 1836.

### History and Biography

Since Yesterday, by Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper. \$3. An informally written history of the 1930's in the United States.

Mr. Secretary, by Ben Ames Williams, Jr. Macmillan. \$2.75. Although novelized, essentially this is a biography of Stanton, Lincoln's secretary of war.

Ethan Allen, by Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan. \$2.50. A lively biography of the hero of Ticonderoga.

Calvin Coolidge: The Man from Vermont, by Claude M. Fuess. Little, Brown. \$4.75. A biography of the silent New Englander.

Mr. Pitt and America's Birthright, by J. C. Long. Stokes. \$3.50. The story of a man who led England through a world crisis.

Kodo: The Way of the Emperor, by Mary A. Nourse. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50. A history of the Japanese people.

### Politics and Economics

American White Paper, by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner. Simon and Schuster. \$1. An important account of our foreign policy.

A Foreign Policy for America, by Charles A. Beard. Knopf. \$1.50. Another viewpoint on foreign policy.

Inside Europe, by John Gunther. Harper. \$3.50. Revised this year, it gives much background information about the present war.

The American Stakes, by John Chamberlain. Carrick and Evans. \$2.75. An excellent study of our political economy.

The Inside Story, edited by Robert S. Benjamin. Prentice-Hall. \$2.75. A group

of foreign correspondents contribute chapters to this picture of world affairs.

### Miscellaneous

The Mexican Earth, by Todd Downing. Doubleday, Doran. \$3. A delightful picture of Mexico, past and present.

Horizon Hunter, by Harrison Forman; McBride. \$3. About a modern Marco Polo's travels in Tibet, China, and Poland.

Through China's Walls, by Graham Peck. Houghton Mifflin. An engrossing account of the author's travels in China.

The Land Below the Wind, by Agnes Newton Keith. Little, Brown. \$3. The experiences of an American woman in Borneo.

Music for the Multitudes, by Sidney Harrison. Macmillan. \$2.75. About great composers, from the Middle Ages to the era of swing.

Picture of Health, by James Clarke. Macmillan. 60 cents. What every person should know about the make-up and functions of his body.

The Arkansas, by Clyde Brion Davis. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50. One of the "Rivers of America" series, by the well-known novelist.

Without Fear or Favor, by Neil MacNeil. Harcourt, Brace. \$3. The complexities of modern journalism, illustrated by examples from the New York Times.

As Long as the Grass Shall Grow, by Oliver La Farge. Longmans, Green. \$2.50. An account of the American Indian, his past and present.

Our Southwest, by Erna Fergusson. Knopf. \$3. A fascinating picture of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and southern Colorado.

Virginia: The New Dominion, by Agnes Rothery. Appleton-Century. \$5. Virginia, as it appears today.

Alaska Holiday, by Barrett Willoughby. Little, Brown. \$3. Impressions of our northernmost territory.

The Wandering Lake, by Sven Hedin. Dutton. \$3.75. The adventures of a Swedish explorer in Central Asia.

The Dutch, by Adriaan J. Barnouw. Columbia University Press. \$3. A portrait of the Netherlands and its people, as they appeared before the war engulfed them.

Science Marches On, by Walter Shepherd. Harcourt, Brace. \$3. A fascinating summing up of science's progress.

Magic Motorways, by Norman Bel Geddes. Random House. \$3.50. The famous designer gives us a glimpse of what highways may be like in the world of tomorrow.



THE SALESWOMAN

GALLOWAY

## • Vocational Outlook •

### Salesmanship

MANY of the readers of this paper will become salesmen or salesclerks of one kind or another when they leave school. Thousands of newcomers enter this field every year. It is a popular and crowded occupation, due largely to the fact that it requires little or no previous training or specialization. A large number of people who fail to find other types of work or who lose their jobs turn to salesmanship as an avenue of employment. They do this as a last resort.

Because no specific training is essential and because there is such a great demand for available sales positions, the majority of people in this field make very low wages. This does not mean, however, that one cannot do well as a salesman if he has unusual ability and industry. A good many salespeople make good incomes.

If you are to stand out above the crowd in the field of salesmanship, you must learn all there is to know about the product you are selling. It makes no difference whether you are selling suits of clothing or intricate machinery. If you do not know your wares, prospective buyers will have no confidence in you and you will not go far. The difference between the competent salesman and the clerk who merely finds the goods customers ask for is this thorough familiarity with the product. You should become an expert in your line. A knowledge of psychology is valuable because the salesman must know how to influence men to buy goods and to buy his particular goods.

In addition, the ability to get along well with people, to meet them easily, and to win their confidence is absolutely essential to success in this field. Honesty and personal

integrity are highly important. A salesman, if he is to win new customers and hold his old ones, must have their confidence. Good speech and neat appearance are also essential to success in salesmanship.

One can gain some idea of the earnings of salespeople by taking the averages for the country as a whole. The average wages for all people in this field range from \$34 a week for salesmen of household appliances to \$12.50 a week for salesclerks in five-and-ten-cent stores. The national average for all types of salesmen is about \$20 a week.

But these figures give only a very rough picture of what salespeople earn. Wage rates vary greatly from industry to industry and from section to section. They also vary greatly among individuals. The run-of-the-mill salespeople, those with little skill or experience, are paid low wages. On the other hand, those who have real ability and who look upon their work as a permanent career usually receive much better salaries. The average income of all persons who have risen to supervisory or executive positions in retail establishments is \$50 a week—a relatively high salary.

Salesmen connected with wholesale firms make considerably higher earnings than those in retail concerns. Their job is to welcome customers, sell to buyers who come in from retail stores out over the country, and make sales by telephone or mail. Often the salesman is sent out on the road to call on retail stores and make the sales to them.

A good book to read is "Successful Salesmanship," by Paul W. Ivey, published by Prentice-Hall Inc., New York City, in 1937.

## - Do You Keep Up With the News? -

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 5, column 4)

1. General Henri Gerard Winkelman, commander-in-chief of the ..... army, ordered his men to lay down their arms after the rapid Nazi onslaught on his little country. "Report claimed that one-fourth of the army were killed." True or false?

2. In what foreign country has this nation established a refugee government?

3. Name the colonial possessions of this same country whose status quo both the United States and Japan have declared must be kept.

4. What British statesman said before the House of Commons: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind?"

5. For the second time within the past 25 years a well-known American has agreed to head the Belgian Relief Commission. Who is he?

6. Hitler has threatened to conquer England, which has not been invaded since the time of (a) Peter the Great; (b) Leif Ericson; (c) Julius Caesar; (d) William the Conqueror.

7. What organization has started a drive in the United States to raise \$10,000,000 for European war relief?

8. The method used by Great Britain to

defeat Germany during the World War and which she hopes will again defeat her in the present conflict is her (a) "fifth column"; (b) submarine warfare; (c) blockade; (d) air superiority.

9. Who is the United States secretary of war?

10. In a message before Congress, President Roosevelt asked that body to enact a \$1,182,000,000 program for defense, building



up the aircraft industry to the production of (a) 20,000; (b) 50,000; (c) 12,000; (d) 75,000 planes a year.

11. Where in the Western Hemisphere did the British recently land troops to protect the possessions of a small Allied country?

12. If Congress passes the President's na-

tional defense appropriation program, which department, war or navy, will get the bulk of the money?

13. Capetown, Transvaal, Natal, and the Orange Free States make up what British dominion? Name the premier of this country who wants an economic union of that continent.

14. True or false? The initiative for formulating and carrying out American foreign policy rests largely with the President and his advisers, especially the secretary of state, but he must have the support of Congress in order to carry out this program.

15. Who has the power to declare war?

16. What former New York Times reporter regularly broadcasts a summary of international news over the Columbia Broadcasting System?

17. The policy of nonentanglement in European affairs was set forth by President (a) Jackson; (b) Wilson; (c) Lincoln; (d) Washington.

18. "A Foreign Policy for America" is a new book by the eminent historian, .....

19. Anti-British demonstrations have been extremely strong in (a) Paris; (b) Rome; (c) The Hague; (d) Prague.

20. To whom is Princess Marie Jose, sister of King Leopold of Belgium, married?





## U. S. Defense Is Widely Debated

(Concluded from page 1)

their power. This brings us to two questions: Will Germany, Italy, and Japan attack us if they win the present wars? If so, do they have the power to defeat us, armed as we now are?

There are many thoughtful people in the United States who think that if Germany, probably with Italy's help, completely crushes Great Britain and France, she and her allies will attack this country in the near future. Here is the line of reasoning they take:

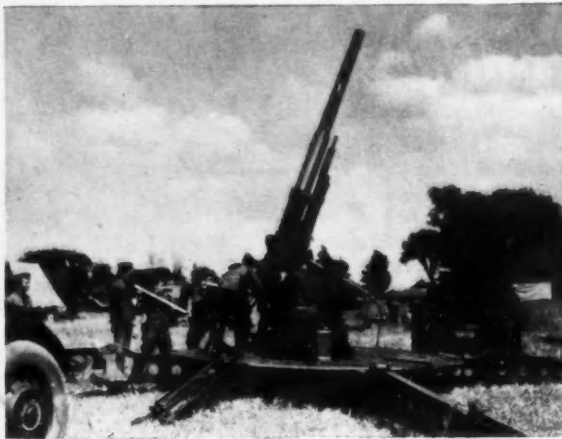
### If Germany Wins

"If Germany wins decisively, completely conquering Great Britain and France, as she may do, she will have Europe at her feet. Fascism will be enthroned throughout Europe. Military dictators will rule all of Europe and Asia. And the United States will be the only remaining democratic nation. But while Hitler will rule all of Europe, he will still be uneasy, for there will be millions of dissatisfied subjects within his realm. The dissatisfied peoples of the world will look to America as the one remaining land of the free. America will be the rallying point of opponents to fascist military dictatorship. Germany will be anxious, therefore, to break America's power.

"Germany will probably not attempt a direct attack upon the United States at first. She may undertake such an attack, but it is more likely that she will strike at South America, making use of her famous 'fifth column' tactics in the South American countries where there are already many German sympathizers. She will also acquire islands such as the Cape Verde and the Azores islands and Iceland and Greenland. She may seize the British, French, and Dutch possessions in the Caribbean region, such as Bermuda and British, Dutch, and French Guiana. She can then establish great air bases very near our shores. She will dominate the Panama Canal, break our power in Central and South America, and be in a position to attack us directly.

"The Germans are likely to do this quickly if they subdue Great Britain and France. They know that the United States has started to prepare on a great scale. But they know it will take us several years to get well prepared to fight a big war. They will not wait until we are ready, but will strike before we have had time to arm extensively. If they crush Great Britain and France this summer, they are likely to make their effort upon the United States, or at least upon South America and the Caribbean, within a year."

But will Germany make this attack upon the Americas if she wins the war? Many people deny it. They argue in this way: "If the Germans win, they will be busy



DEFENSE NEEDS OF THE NATION

In order to be better protected the United States needs an improved air force, a larger number of anti-aircraft guns, and additional mechanized equipment for the army.

for a long time consolidating their gains in Europe and absorbing the British and French colonies. They will have a big job to do there, enough to last them for a good many years. Furthermore, they will have sullen, angry peoples to deal with in all the conquered territories. They can't possibly hold these subjugated peoples down, but it will take great armed forces in order to do it. Not only that, but they will have to deal with each other. There will not be unity of purpose among the Germans, Italians, Russians, and Japanese. They may fall out over the spoils. At least they will be busy reaping the fruits of their victory in Europe and Asia and the whole Eastern Hemisphere.

"The Germans and Italians and Japanese may indeed seek to develop trade with South America. Probably they will. But they will not immediately pick a quarrel with the United States and undertake the costly venture of fighting us merely to break our hold in the Americas."

Such are the two contrasting predictions which are made concerning Germany's follow-up actions in case she wins the war in Europe. Assuming, as many do, that Germany and Italy probably will not strike quickly at the United States or at Central and South America if they are victorious, most people will agree that such a development, even if not probable, is at least possible. If, therefore, we wish to prepare not only against things which may certainly happen, but against dangers which are possible, we must in our preparations take into account the possibility of Germany's undertaking quickly to seize islands in the Atlantic and even territories in the Caribbean. If she does this, she will be in a position to strike hard blows at us and probably American public opinion would demand that we fight the Germans rather than permit them to establish themselves at our very door.

### Chief Line of Defense

We now come to another important question. If Germany should make an attempt to entrench herself in the Western Hemisphere, are we strong enough in the air and on the water and on the land to keep her from doing so? In other words, could we win a war with Germany, provided Germany wins the present war in Europe?

The first thing to keep in mind is that our navy is our chief line of defense. If we can have a navy in the Atlantic strong enough to defeat the navies of our opponents, we will win, for they cannot seize the islands of the Atlantic, and particularly of the Caribbean, unless they can defeat our navy. They cannot establish air bases in the Western Hemisphere so long as our navy controls the seas nearby. Can we depend upon our navy to defeat the navies of Germany and Italy?

The weight of expert opinion appears to be that if we were able to keep all of our navy in the Atlantic, the German and Italian fleets could not cross the Atlantic to the Caribbean region and defeat us. Their combined navies are about the size of our navy. But we have the advantage of being in our own waters, and that is a tremendous advantage. A fleet can go only about 2,000 to 2,400 miles from its base

unless it takes along a great auxiliary fleet, and that is a dangerous procedure. In order for a fleet to come across the ocean to attack another fleet, it should have a superiority of at least two-to-one.

### British and French Fleets

We must, however, take into account this possibility: If Germany completely crushes Great Britain and France, she may demand and obtain the British and French fleets. If the Germans should invade and occupy England, which they may do, they could say to the English: "If you do not turn over your navy to us, we will lay your island waste. If, however, you give us your navy, we will cease destruction and leave England a large measure of independence." In that case, the English might conceivably give up their fleet, since in any event it would be of no use to them if they were conquered. The British fleet is somewhat larger than ours, and the French fleet is more than half the size of our navy. If, then, the Germans should acquire the British and French fleets, they would have at their command a navy between two and three times as large as ours. And this would, to say the least, be a very unpleasant situation for us to face.

Nor is that the whole story. The relations between the United States and Japan are very severely strained, and it is possible that if we should be involved in the Atlantic, Japan might attack us in the Pacific. And her navy is not much smaller than ours.

Of course we do not know that Germany will crush Great Britain and France. There is still a fair chance either that the Allies will win the war or else that they will not be completely crushed. There is a further chance that, even if they were crushed, they would destroy their navies rather than surrender them to the Germans. The picture which has been drawn, that is, a picture of Germany winning the war decisively and obtaining control of the British and French fleets, is a picture merely of something which may conceiv-



W. W. AND U. S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

ably happen, and it is by no means a picture of something which will certainly take place.

At the present time America is not prepared to fight a first-class war. We have an excellent navy, but whether it is large enough and well equipped enough to meet all possible opponents is an uncertainty which we have just discussed. We have about 5,000 airplanes and are producing at the rate of around 12,000 a year. But we are selling a large proportion of those which we produce to the Allies. We do not know how many the Germans have, but most reports seem to indicate that they have from 25,000 to 30,000, and that they are probably producing at the rate of 25,000 to 35,000 a year. The President has called for America to produce at the rate of 50,000 a year. But before that can be done, we must build additional airplane factories and equipment. And that will take time. Just how long it would take to get our production at that point is uncertain, possibly two years, possibly quite a little sooner, depending largely upon the intensity of the drive to get our industry in condition for rapid production of war supplies.

We have a regular army of about 255,000, and a National Guard of about the same number. But it is said in what appears to be reliable quarters that we have first-rate, modern equipment for an army of only about 75,000. How soon we could put our factories into shape to produce huge tanks and guns and other items of military equipment is uncertain. Germany has been bending every energy in military preparedness for five or six years. She has almost starved her people in order to put everything that she has into this equipment. If we should make a comparable effort, we could produce a very much stronger military force than Germany, because we have far greater material resources. But it will probably take us at least a year to get our factories into shape to start producing war equipment on a gigantic scale.

## Smiles

"Mrs. Chatter is getting a double chin."  
"Too much work for one, I suppose."  
—PANTHER

Dad: "Son, what is this '60' on your report card?"  
Son: "Do you suppose it's the temperature of the schoolroom?"  
—GRIT



"If you can't find your way back, dear, just follow any ant!"  
REYNOLDS IN COLLIER'S

A writer mentions that he got up at dawn the other morning just to see the sun rise. He could not have chosen a better time.  
—PUNCH

A businessman thought his staff rather lazy and indifferent, so he posted the following notice:  
"Bread is the staff of life, but that is no reason why the life of our staff should be one continual loaf."  
—Mississippi PROGRESS

"When were the so-called Dark Ages?"  
"During the days of the knights."  
—SELECTED

Diner: "Here, waitress, take this chicken away—it's as tough as a paving stone."  
Waitress: "Maybe it's a Plymouth Rock, sir."  
—LABOR

New Cook: "How shall I fix the potatoes for dinner tonight, madam?"  
Mrs. Jones: "With the jackets on. It is a very formal dinner!"  
—SELECTED

Guest (phoning hostess): "Is this dance formal or may I wear my own clothes?"  
—LOG